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ABSTRACT

In this paper, a case study describes the lexis, phonology, grammar, and syntax of a speaker of South African English (SAE) and shows how these elements differ from those of a General American English (GAE) speaker. The subject was a 32-year-old female speaker of SAE, and that although she is a bilingual speaker of English and Afrikaans, English was her first language. The paper outlines the research methodology and indicates results. It then discusses the historical, social, and linguistic factors that have contributed to these language variation differences. It ends with some suggestions for learners trying to cope with other varieties of English--an important point since most pedagogical materials prepare learners to comprehend standard varieties of English yet do little to help learners understand the majority of the world's speakers of English. An appendix gives the transcription notation and transcripts for 6 episodes. (Contains 4 tables of data and 16 references.) (NKA)

South African English: A New Voice of Freedom

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Language variation and change is a natural and inevitable process, Some forces enabled a medieval mixture of Old English, French and Scandinavian elements to become one language "English" while others contributed to the separation of Old Scandinavian elements into modern "Swedish" and "Norwegian." These forces continue to exert influence on languages despite concerted efforts to standardize language.

The use of the term "standard" is in no way meant to imply that other varieties of English are "sub-standard." Rather, by a fluke of historical, political and economic factors and an over-riding need to be mutually intelligible, GAE (General American English) and BE (British English) have become institutionalized norms for communication in English (Quirk, 1990). GAE derives from the dialect that has predominated in the post civil war North of the United States (and most of Canada). BE started out as the prestige dialect of London and its environs. Although BE and GAE are acknowledged to be so-called "standard" English, the English of academia and of success, millions of English speakers live happy, productive lives while speaking a "non-standard" or "non-institutionalized" dialect of English (Quirk, 1990). One such dialect is South African English (SAE)[1].

The following case study attempts to describe the lexis, phonology, grammar and syntax of a speaker of SAE and to show how these elements differ from those of a GAE speaker. That will be followed by a discussion of the historical, social, and linguistic factors that have

[1]For a more complete description of various regional dialects of SAE, please refer to Lantham (1982).

contributed to these differences. The article will end with some suggestions for learners trying to cope with other varieties of English. This final point is important since most pedagogical materials prepare learners to comprehend standard varieties of English yet do little to help learners understand the majority of the world's speakers of English.

METHOD

Subject

The subject was a 32 year-old female speaker of SAE. Although she is a bilingual speaker of English and Afrikaans, English was her first language and the one most often used at home. The subject was aware that the conversation was tape recorded although the tape recorder was concealed. There were no pre-set topics or topic choice constraints. The subject was assured that information of a personal nature would be excluded from the analysis.

Procedure

A picture book (Scarry, 1963) with a core GAE vocabulary of 1400 items was used to elicit words in SAE. The GAE terms were concealed on the page (post-it tabs were stuck over top) so that the subject could only see the picture as a stimulus. The entire interview was tape-recorded. Several casual conversational segments were selected for analysis of pronunciation, grammar, syntax and prosody. Informal conversations were chosen because variation becomes more apparent the more casual the speech occasion (Labov, 1972). In the case of variants which speakers are aware, i.e., those that carry threat of social stigma or those that are radically different from the interviewer's speech, speakers will accommodate to the interviewer *least* in informal settings (Trudgill, 1974;1986).

A bi-level transcript for each of these episodes was prepared. At the discourse level, an orthographic transcription follows the conventions of Gumperz and Berenz (1993). Below each of the subject's utterances is a phonetic transcription[2] in IPA (Intenational Phonetic Alphabet). The full

[2]Although I initially set out to do a *close* transcription, I noticed early that there were few differences with GAE. For that reason, I transcribed only those items that differed from GAE.

transcript and a summary of the Gumperz and Berenz (1993) coding symbols are in the Appendix.

RESULTS

Vocabulary

Of 1400 items, 57 items differed from GAE (Table 1). Many differences were at the level of synonym or hyponym, i. e., the SAE terms were parallel terms like "dungarees" for "overalls" or "tin opener" for "can opener." However, expressions like "guy fawkes" for "fireworks" indicate a certain affinity for British culture.

Table 1. Lexical differences between GAE and SAE in a vocabulary of 1400 words.

GAE	SAE	Type of Contrast
warm/hot cereal	porridge*	lexical
living room	front/sitting room*	lexical
front hall*	entrance	lexical
hassock	pompom	new/nonce
hopscotch*	eight blocks	new/nonce
hula hoop*	hoopla hoo	new/nonce
corn crib	hay crib	lexical
clothesline	washing line*	lexical
clothesbasket	washing basket*	lexical
movie theater	bioscope**	lexical
toy soldier	soldier toy	syntactic
rake/re:k/	rake/ræk/	phonological
gelatin	jelly*	lexical
Neapolitan ice cream	mix ice cream	lexical
cotton balls	cotton wool*	lexical
overalls	dungarees*/jumpsuit	lexical
muffler	scarf*	lexical
sneakers	tekkis	new/nonce
spool of thread	bobbin of cotton*	lexical
sugared jellies	sugar pastels/pestəlz/	new/nonce
acorn	corn	hyponym
lady bug	lady bird*	lexical
bassinet	crib*	lexical
walker*	circle	new/nonce
stroller	cart	new/nonce
carriage	pram*	lexical
(train) car	carriage*	lexical
baggage wagon	luggage wagon*	lexical
crossing gate	crossing*	lexical
(indoor) swimming pool	pavilion	new/nonce

house boat	boat house	syntactic
faucet	tap*	lexical
hose	garden hose	lexical
beet	beet root*	lexical
coal hanger*	clothes hanger	lexical
cooking grill*/barbecue	braai	new/nonce
peek	peep*	lexical
stomach	belly	lexical
rug*	mat	lexical
pickled onion*	pickle onion	morphological
short sleeved shirt	short sleeve shirt*	morphological
thread	thread of cotton*	lexical
(I'm) full*	(I'm) fulled	morphological
Knap sack	Haversack	lexical
Fireworks	Guy Fawkes	genericized
Waste basket	Dust bin*	lexical
Garbage pail	Dirt bin*	lexical
Can opener	Tin opener*	lexical
Clothes washer	Washing machine	lexical
Refrigerator	Fridge/frigerator	reduced
Flour bin	Flour pot	lexical
Spatula	Egg lifter*	lexical
Ketchup	Tomato sauce*	lexical
Cutting board	Bread board*	lexical
Burner (stove)	Plate	lexical
Skyscraper	Tower	lexical
Vacuum cleaner	Hoover*	genericized

(*)indicates agreement with BE, (**)indicates antiquated term once used in BE

Among the new terms were "pompom" for "hassock," "eight block" for "hopscotch," "braai" for "barbecue," "tekkis" for "sneakers," and "milkie" for "milkman" (a job, which during the apartheid era was reserved mainly for black South Africans). Examples of words that differed because of the order of their parts included "hupla hoo" for "hula hoop", and "soldier toy" for "toy soldier." Borrowed words (from Afrikaans) include "robots" for "traffic lights", and "bioscope" (from BE) for "cinema." The use of "bioscope" is an artifact of history; "bioscope" was commonly used in Britain in the 1920's but has since fallen out of fashion. Some vocabulary differed from GAE by virtue of its unique pronunciation, eg., "castle" was pronounced/ka:stəl) and "rake" was/ræk/.

A native speaker of BE was consulted regarding the 57 lexical

differences between SAE and GAE. This informant indicated that BE agreed with SAE on 28 of the 57 terms while BE agreed with GAE on only 7 items. This indicates some amount of lexical overlap between BE and SAE in contrast to GAE. It also should be noted that some of the differences might be explained as the product of speaker idiolect or nonce usage. Thus, the examples cited in this paper are not to be considered the final authority.

Pronunciation

Consonants were generally consistent with GAE except for/d/and /ð/alternations in unstressed positions (eg./də/for/ðə/in "the"). Other allophonic differences in consonants are generally below the level of consciousness. Although SAE is r-less like BE, influence of the r-full Afrikaans can be perceived in the quality of initial /r/ and some consonant clusters such as /kr/, /tr/, /dr/and/gr/. Unlike GAE, in which [r] is an apical retroflex (noted in transcription as /r/), SAE makes [r] an obstruent tap (noted in transcription as /R/). Therefore, the word "cry" would be transcribed in SAE as/kRai/whereas it would be rendered /krai/in GAE.

Differences in vowel shape and placement account for the most noticeable distinctions between SAE and GAE. There were eight patterns detected and examples are provided in Table 2. It is interesting to note that items 1, 4, 6, 7, and 8 are also features of Australian pronunciation, another colonial English.

Morphology and Syntax

One striking difference in morphology involved the deletion of a word final-*ed* in compound words composed of an adjectival verb plus a noun. Thus, words in GAE like *mixed ice cream, pickled onion and short sleeved shirt* become in SAE, *mix ice cream, pickle onion and short sleeve shirt.*

A syntactic difference occurs in some noun compounds. For example, *houseboat* in GAE becomes *boathouse* in SAE and *toy soldier* becomes *soldier toy*. Another syntactic difference involves deletion of object noun or pronouns in elliptical sentences. For example, the pronoun *it* is deleted in the following utterance (the deleted element is enclosed in square brackets):

Table 2. Phonological differences in vowel shape and placement in GAE and SAE.

	Phonological variant type and environment	GAE	SAE	Orthographic Form
1	Raised/æ/:	/mæn/	/mɛn/	"man"
	æ → ɛ/ C_C	/ðæt/	/ðɛt/	"that"
	æ → ɛ/ #_C	/ænd/	/ɛnd/	"and"
2	Lowered/æ/:	/kænt/	/ka:nt/	"can't"
	æ → a:/ in a restricted lexical set. This is a residual of a similar lexical set in BE.	/hæf/	/ha:f/	"half"
		/klæs/	/kla:s/	"class"
3	Raised /ɛ/:	/ðɛm/	/ ðem/	"them"
	ɛ → e/C_C	/sɛd/	/ sed/	"said"
4	Raised and glideless/ɛr/	/ðɛr/	/ ðe:/	"their"
	ɛr → e:C_#	/bɛr/	/ be:/	"bear"
	ɛr → e:/C_C	/wɛr/	/ we:/	"where"
5	Polarization of /i/ allophones	/kɪdz/	/kidz/	"kids"
	between /i/ and /ə/	/ɪf/	/if/	"if"
		/slɪm/	/slim/	"slim"
		/wantɪd/	/wantəd/	"wanted"
		/pɪn/	/pən/	"pin"
6	Digraph initialled, raised /e'/ :	/ðe'/	/ðæi/	"they"
	e' → æi/ C_#	/he'/	/hæi/	"hay"
7	Schwa initialed /ou/ :	/nou/	/nəᵘ/	"no, know"
	ou → əᵘ/ C_#	/sou/	/səᵘ/	"so, sew"
8	Digraph initialled, diphthong	/laud/	/læud/	"loud"
	/au/:	/əlaud/	/əlæud/	"allowed"
	au → æu/ C_C	/naü/	/næu/	"now"

...if they really need, like shoes and panties and tee shirts, they buy [it] out of their own money//

The pronoun *it* can also be inserted before object nouns as in the following:

...they got it pocket money...

...he really beat out it the "r"...

...we used to get hiding with a cane and I'm watching it cane...

Prepositions are sometimes omitted or repositioned when they occur with verbs as in the following example:

...I don't know after who he takes...

Another interesting contrast was the lack of concord:

...and Sister Bertram come over and...

...like my husband swallow his words...

...and if he teach English...

...and he know more English than she know...

The auxiliary verb *have* was omitted with the past participle *got* in a few instances. In the examples the omitted word is indicated with square brackets:

...men and women [have] got different sizes...

...a man always [has] got a-a bigger size than a woman...

Finally, there were examples of the omission of a summation plural constituent. The missing elements are indicated by square brackets:

...they bought them each one a [pair of] jeans...

...they each one bought them a shorts too...

DISCUSSION

To understand how GAE and SAE have become the stable but very different dialects that they are today, one must examine the linguistic, socio-psychological and historic factors that can enhance or resist linguistic change. Trudgill (1986) posits that linguistic change, especially phonological, happens when speakers communicate face-to-face. Change can not take place solely through exposure to media because "however much [people] watch and listen to [TV], they do not talk to it" (p. 40). Therefore *mixing* or the coming together for the purposes of communication of two or more dialects is one agent of linguistic change.

Another powerful agent of change is *leveling*. This refers to the reduction or attrition of marked variants. Marked in this context is defined as unusual, minority or non-prestige. A third factor for change is *simplification*, which can be manifest in two different ways. One way is through increased morpheme regularity such as the loss of inflections or the increase in invariable word forms. The other way a dialect can simplify is through regular correspondence between content and expression. In other words, the dialect can admit items that are more *lexically transparent*. For example *tooth doctor* is much more transparent a term than *dentist*.

Mixing, leveling and simplification all contribute to the "koineization" of a new dialect (Trudgill, 1986). Koineization results in a stable dialect containing elements from the dialects contributing to the mixture, as well as interdialect forms present in none. The forms of all colonial Englishes (and that includes GAE as well as SAE, Australian English) are a result of this process.

Mixing

If mixing is one important factor in the birth of a stable dialect, then a comparative look at immigration figures for America and South Africa is in order. More than seven million people left Britain between 1815 and 1860. Approximately 3.5 million went to the US; 1.5 million went to Australia and 1 million went to Canada. The remaining 500.000 souls went to New Zealand, South and East Africa and Asia (McCrum, Cran & McNeill, 1986). At first glance one might think that the large numbers that traveled to the US would have made an impact on American speech, making it more BE-like than SAE. However, in terms of proportional demographics, the two cases were quite different.

A Brief History of English in South Africa

From the 1650's until 1806, Dutch was the only European language indigenous to southern Africa. Although England invaded and occupied South Africa in 1806, the few English speakers present were transient military and administrative personnel. It was not until the arrival of 4-5000 men, women and children in 1820 that the foundations for SAE were laid. In 1822, English was declared the "official" language and so the government set about the task of "anglicizing" the Dutch majority

by importing British schoolmasters and parsons.

Although the settlers of 1820 represented twenty or more regional dialects of Britain, only elements of lower-middle/class speech of the Home Counties persisted (Lanham, 1982). The intermarriage of Dutch women with English men added Afrikaans vocabulary and phonology to the English spoken at the Cape so that by 1829 British travelers had trouble understanding the English spoken by children (Rose, 1829).

In the 1830's and '40's a new kind of English-speaking settler began arriving: educated missionaries, big-game hunters, gold diggers and capital speculators (Trevelyan, 1942). Generally they spoke using "polite pronunciation" (McCrum et al., 1986) which was the fore-runner of what would become "standard" BE. They tended to settle in the provinces of Natal and Witwatersrand. The mining boom of the 1870's enticed Cape Town dwellers to move inland, thus coming in contact with the socially elite Natalians, who were considered "more English." Cape English was perceived to be identical to (low status) Afrikaans English by the class-conscious mining plutocracy of Johannesburg and western South Africa. Thus, upwardly mobile members of Cape society began to adopt the speech habits of their better socially placed Natalian compatriots.

By 1875, the black population began learning English in the mission-run schools which were considered to be "elitist" and taught "superior English" (Shepherd, 1971). Lanham (1982) asserts that the high level of English competence found among South African blacks was the result of exposure to the superior classroom English as a first contact with English rather than that of general society. Latham contends that this is why South Africa had none of the pidgins of West Africa. Furthermore, Bickerton (1983) states that colonial societies tend to be "small, autocratic and stratified. There were few chances for prolonged linguistic contact between field laborers and speakers of the dominant language" (p. 136). However, with the end of apartheid and the use of English by blacks outside of mission-run institutions, a South African Black English has begun to emerge.

Although ethnically mixed (colored) groups, which include east Indians had been present in southern Africa before the British, they had

traditionally been socially more a part of Afrikaner society. Members of this group were bi- or multilingual (perhaps in a Bantu language) although a switch to the use of English in the home often corresponded with socioeconomic advancement. The Indians that began arriving after 1860 to work on plantations in Natal provided English education for their children because of its utilitarian value and yet resisted the use of English in the home.

By the end of the Second World War, British political power declined and Afrikaner power increased. Yet, English remained a high status language and Standard British English the often inaccessible ideal. Natal English was to remain the local (prestige) standard of English speaking urban life. Despite the political pressures against English use by Afrikaners, well-educated, high-status Afrikaners began and continue to speak the conservative local English standard (Hauptfleisch, 1977). Table 3 depicts the social class distributions in 1948. This information indicates why, even in face of Afrikaner political power, English was considered the language of higher status.

Table 3. Social class distribution in 1948 (percentages)

Language	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
Afrikaans	30.6	41.1	28.3
English	42.9	39.9	17.2

The languages and dialects (as they were spoken at the time indicated) that contributed most directly to the mix are listed in Table 4.

Based on components of the mix alone, GAE and SAE have potential for great differences. In terms of time, an American English had been established for 200 years before European settlers went to South Africa. Therefore settlers from some regions in Britain encountered very different language environments. By the time immigration began to South Africa, profound changes had begun to occur in the English of England, especially the "prestige" dialect of London. This can be seen in the r-less vowels and lexical sets like *can't, dance,* and *pass* (although SAE is not totally consistent with BE). Therefore, the 3.5 million settlers from England who went to America in 1815 would have had a much smaller effect on the way English was spoken than would the speech of the mere 5,000 immigrants to South Africa in the same period.

Table 4. Regions and dialects that contributed to SAE and GAE

SAE		GAE	
Regions/dialects	year of immigration	Regions/dialects	year of immigration
lower/middle class speech of Home counties	1820	rural lower/middle class east Anglia	1620
upper class speech of London	1830	rural lower/middle class Kent, Yorkshire, Devon	1620
Afrikaans Indian English	1820	French Acadian	1620
African languages (Xhosa, Zulu, Sesotho)	1875	Algonquian, Iroquois English pidgin	1620
		Dutch	1660
		German (from Bavaria)	1680
		lowland Scots and Scots-Irish of Ulster	1680
		lower class Scots-Irish	1720
		south west midlands of England	1815
		lower/middle class Irish speakers of English	1840
		German speakers	1850
		Italian speakers	1860
		Scandinavian languages	1870
		central European Jewish speakers of Yiddish and Hebrew	1880
		lower/middle class Southern Blacks	1900

Leveling

The next component of koineization is leveling, i.e., a reduction or attrition of features marked as minority, low status or unusual. For example, the Cape settlement of 1820 consisted of immigrants from 20 dialectal regions of England. Yet, by the time of the second wave of immigrations to Natal (in the 1830's), a "Cape English" was identifiable. On one hand this could mean that any language variety that was non-London prestige was labeled as "Cape." In view of the fact, however, that little differentiation was made between Afrikaans English and Cape English of that period, one would be more inclined to think that Cape English had a certain homogeneity. In other words, it implies that leveling had occurred. According to Francis (1983), where there are dialectal differences among speakers that can jeopardize communication,

changes reflecting these differences will spread throughout a community or else will die out completely. Therefore, leveling is based on the "practical necessity for sufficient homogeneity to make communication possible and not too difficult" (Francis, 1983, p.16).

The second wave of leveling coincides with the growth of urban centers from 1860's onward. Education was a major factor in leveling. Teachers were for the most part, British-born speakers of "prestige" English. Upward social mobility that was associated with speaking BE or the Natalian version of it was another motivating factor. At least until the mid 1980's the English spoken in various urban centers in South Africa exhibited few differences (Lanham) and the overall "flavor" remained remarkably close to standard BE as realized in turn of the century Natalian speech.

In the case of GAE, leveling also occurred. An important difference, however, is that the leveling occurred within a context of American nationalism that essentially rejected a continuing BE influence. Pyles and Algeo (1982) postulate that "people isolated from their mother country tend to be conservative, linguistically as well as in other ways..." (p.214). The politics that fueled the American Revolution found expression in the conservatism of American speech.

However, if one considers the effect of the American Revolution on British morale (not to mention economy), it is possible to argue that the rapid ascent of London "posh" speech was to some extent a response to a hostile colonial environment. Americans had excluded the British, therefore the British needed to distance themselves from Americans. This in turn, led to increased alienation on the part of Americans and further linguistic exclusion of the British. From this perspective the London "posh" speech could be said to have carried "covert prestige" (Trudgill, 1986, p.65) in face of conservative American speech.

This cycle of linguistic differentiation in some ways mirrors what is occurring in American Black English. Draper (1979) contends that language is an ecological variable and among blacks it is used as a coping maneuver in a hostile environment. "Viewed ecologically, any language serves to relate its speakers to one another and to the environment in which they are situated" (p.267). Thus the rejection experience of the

American Revolution may have given British speakers an extra incentive (albeit below the level of consciousness) to differ/distance themselves linguistically. Conversely, "a looser bond of common interest and affection held the Empire together" (Trevelyan, 1942, p. 465). The strong identification with "the motherland" felt by the colonialists of Africa and Asia would encourage the absorption, retention and imitation of BE speech patterns perceived as "prestige."

Simplification

Simplification is another agent of change in the koineization of a new language. Simplification in grammar are likely to exist thanks to the influence of Afrikaans (Lanham, 1982) while simplification though lexical transparency does not appear to be dependent on other language contact. For instance, *throwaway nappy* is more transparent than *disposable nappy* but it is a simplification built upon parts within English.

Based on these observations, it is not surprising that GAE and SAE are different. Although there may be predictable tendencies of linguistic change, the origins of people in the mix, where, why and how long they come in contact play an important role. SAE continues to evolve. Indeed, the novelist Andre Brink is of the opinion that "a completely new kind of English [has] emerged, strongly influenced by Afrikaans rhythms and syntactical patterns (cited in Crum, et. al. p.304). Likely, the future changes in SAE will be largely dependent upon the influences which Black speakers of English in South Africa bring. English has come to be politically expedient because it favors no one black ethnic group over another. English is perceived as the voice of freedom in contrast to Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor. It is difficult to predict what will happen once English use by Black speakers moves from the negotiations table to the breakfast table, but change is certain.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

With the dismantling of apartheid, the world business community is sending representatives in larger numbers to South Africa. In order to prepare a non-native speaker of English for communication with speakers of SAE a number of things can be suggested based on the insights gathered through this small case study.

For instance, listening comprehension would be a major barrier for non-native speakers of English. Japanese learners of English would be especially challenged because they get little exposure to native speakers of English outside of the GAE or BE speech community. To overcome this barrier, learners need to be exposed to a variety of accents and dialects in English either through media or in person.

Another point to consider relates to what Trudgill (1986) describes as a "fixed route" of accommodation. This "fixed route" refers to the common stages that a newcomer to a dialect passes through on his way to assimilation in the community. In other words, transplanted speakers of another dialect adopt the speech patterns of their new environment in distinct phases. Theses stages, if properly identified, can suggest a hierarchy of features that are important in overt teaching and further imply that some features are more crucial to adapt to (and perhaps adopt) that others.

Because lexical differences are the most salient to people without linguistic training and can cause the most severe comprehension problems, these are logically the first to address. Non-systematic lexical differences can be learned quickly at one time by studying paired word lists. Students should be encouraged not only to understand these equivalents but also to be prepared to use them.

Pronunciation is the next problem to tackle because it will pose the next most formidable barrier to comprehension. In this case, the learner needs to be exposed to samples of spoken speech in order to accustom his or her ear to the sounds. If the learner is alerted to the sound shifts and differences in prosody that are regularized, then he or she may be better prepared to adjust the ear. This does not mean that the learner needs to pronounce English in a SAE accent pattern in order to be understood by SAE speakers, however. The variety of SAE used by the South African Broadcasting Corporation has, according to Crum et. al., "the clipped formality of BBC English in the 1950's"(p.304) Therefore local SAE speakers would certainly be in a good position to understand speakers of another "standard" dialect. So to repeat, the learner need not produce SAE pronunciation, they only need to understand it.

Finally, differences in grammar and syntax pose minor but occasional

comprehension difficulties, therefore, learners should be alerted to these features. Above all, speakers of English, learners and "natives" alike need to realize that SAE is not "sub-standard" English. It is just different. The changes that have occurred are the natural consequences of diverse peoples in contact. That GAE and BE have been nominated as global standards of English is pure chance not purity. The future global standard for English only time, politics and money with tell.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Notation (based on Gumperz and Berenz, 1993, p.121)

Symbol	Meaning
// / ? , -	Final fall Slight fall indicating temporary closure (e.g., more can be said on the topic) Final rise Slight rise as in listing intonation Truncation or stammering
.. ... = = =	Pauses of less than .5 seconds Pauses of more than .5 seconds Overlap speakers' speech. One before and one after the overlapping portions Latching or near overlap
:: .{[ ]} [ ]	Lengthened segments Non-lexical phenomena, both vocal and nonvocal that overlay the lexical stretch. eg. {[lo] text//} Nonlexical phenomena, both vocal and nonvocal, that interrupt the lexical stretch. e.g. text [cough] text//
( ) di(d) (did) (xxx) # #	unintelligible speech A good guess at an unclear segment A good guess at an unclear word Unclear word for which a good guess of the number of syllables can be made. Extratextual information is included. e.g. C#surname#

Transcript of Selected Conversation Episodes (with phonetic gloss of SAE speaker turns)
C= SAE speaker, D=GAE speaker

Episode 1

D : were those your husband's jeans?//
C : that's it//
/ðɛ:tsɪt/
D : that's great/#laughs# you're lucky you can fit into your husband's

jeans//

C : before I couldn't/ when I could, ooo I just cry//
/bifɔ: ai kʊ:dənt/ wen ai kʊ:d u:: ai jɪst kRæi//
you see, men and women got different sizes/ a man always got a-a bigger size than a woman,
/yusi:, mɛn ɛn wɪmən gɔt difrɛnt saizəs/əmɛn alwɪz gɔtəə biga saiz ðɛn ə wʊmən/
even though they are slim built//
/ivɛn ðɔ: ðæi æ: slim bɪlt//

D : right right/

C : but my sister in law, she couldn't fit in her husband's jeans//
/bət mai sɪstə inlɔ/ši kʊ:dənt fit ɪn hə həzbɛnz ĵïnz//

Episode 2

C : and- and- what i want to say also, she eats/ and she drinks/ like i,
/ɛn ɛn wəȼ ai wan tʊ se ɔlsɔ ši i:ts/ɛn ši dRɪŋks/laik ai/
we drank so much the other night, that my stomach is bloated/
/wi dRɛŋk səᵘ məč əðə nait ðɛt mə stəmək bləᵘTəd/
she's got no fat = on her =
/šiz gɔt nəᵘ fɛt an hə/

D : = at all =

C : and what I don't understand, she was so fat ==
/ɛn wəȼ ai dɔn əndəstən ši wəz səᵘ fɛt/

D : == at one time/

C : yeah//
/ya:/

D : how did that, you know, how did she manage to get rid of all that fat? it's amazing//

C : I don't know/ you see, she went to america, she had no work to do/ and she was eating//
/ai dɔ nəᵘ /yu si: ši wen tu əmeRɪkə ši hed nəᵘ wə:k tə du/ɛn ši wəz itɪŋ//

Episode 3

D : her english is so good/

C : its good = =
/əts gʊd/

D : = = she understands so well//

C : she understands and - and- and = =

/ši əndə:ste:nz ɛn ɛn ɛn/

D : = = and speaks well = too=

C : =too= yes, you know what/ if she could just learn a little bit more/

/tu: yɛs yu nəᵘ wət/əf ši kʊ:d jɪst lə:n lətəl bɪt mɔ:/

D : yeah//

C : you know, like my husband, swallow his words/

/yu nəᵘ laik mai həzbən swal ɪz wə:dz/

D : right//

C : you see, and-and he know more english than she know

/yu si ɛn ɛn hi nəᵘ mɔ:ɪŋlɪš ðen ši nəᵘ/

D : right, but see he's a shy person, too right?

C : that's it/ I don't know after who he takes/cause his mother's a chatterbox//

/ðɛ:tsɪt/ə dən nəᵘ a:ftə: hu wi teks kəz ɪz məðə:z ə čɛtə:bɔks/

Episode 4

C : and look at the twins, they saved/ they never got it, they don't want it pocket money/

/ɛn lʊk ɛt ðə təwɪnz ðæi sæivd ðæi nɛvə gɔt ət ðæi dɪdnt wɔnt ɪt pɔk ət məni/

in- in j in may/ and in june/ and their mother only gave them pocket money this month/

/ɪn ɪn ĵ ɪn mæɪ ɛn ɪn ĵun ɛn ðei: məðə: ɔnli gev ðem pɔkət məni ðɪs mənθ

so they got 〈yon sen en〉 //

/sɔ ðæi gɔt //

D : wow//

c : you see? so they bought them each one a jeans, for the summer//

/yu si səᵘ ðæi bɔt ðem iČ wən ĵinz fɔ ðə səmə/

D : =that's nice=

C : =that's what the= japanese do with their children/they get pocket money, they must save,

/ðɛ:ts wət ðə ĵɛpəniz du wɪθ ðei: ČɪldRən/ðæɪ gɛt pɔkət məni ðæi m əst se:v/

and if they like something very nice = =

/ɛn if ðæi laik səmθɪŋ ve:Ri nais/

D : = = then they buy themselves//

C : but the parents, if they really need, like shoes and panties and tee[shirts],
/bət ðə pe:Rənts if ðæi Ri:li nid laik šu:z ɛn pɛntiz ɛn ti/
then they buy it out of their own money//
/ðɛn ðæi bai ət æut əv ðe: o:n məni/
D : right right//
C : and-and I said to my kids too/ they have their money,
/ɛn ɛn ai sed tʊ mai kidz tu: ðæi hɛv ðe: məni/
so they each one bought them a shorts too//
/səᵘ ðæi iČ wən bɔt ðem ə šɔ:ts tu:/

Episode 5

C : we had a afrikaans teacher/ and when he used to say/ (wh)at he was teaching english/
/wi hɛd ə a:fRɪka:nz tičə ɛn wɛn hi yus tu sæi ət hi wəz tičɪŋ ɪŋlɪš/
you see in south africa, those years when we went to school, they had one teacher,
/yu si ɪn sauθ ɛfRika: ðəᵘz yi:z wen wi wen tu sku: ðæi hɛd wən tičə/
one class, afrikaans half, and english half/ but we all sat...mix/
/wən kla:s a:fRɪka:nz ha:f ɛn ɪŋlɪš ha:f bət wi sət miks/
he just have to see who is afrikaans/ and if he teach english, all = =
/hi jɪst hɛv tu si hu iz a:fRɪka:nz ɛn if hi tič ɪŋlɪš ɔ:l/
D : = = everbody gets it/
C : afrikaans, everybody/ and he used to say = =
/a:fRɪka:nz evRibədi ɛn hi yustu sæi/
D : = = he must have been a talented person to do that/
C : they have to do that/and he say uh right/ and I tell him, sir its not right, its right/
/ðæi hɛv tu du ðɛt ɛn hi sæi ə RRait ɛn ai tɛl ɪm sə: əts nɔt Rait əts ra:it/
oh I was always the one that used to correctify the teacher//
/o: ai wəz ɔlwɪz ðə wən ðet yustu kəRektɪfai ðə tičə/
D : #laughs# because in afrikaans they've got a very strong r sound, right?
C : right/ they say it right, right #trills tongue# he used to really beat out it the #trills tongue#,
/RRait ðæi sæI ət rait riat R-R-R hi yustə Rili bit aut ət ðə R-R-R/

and I said, sir, not #trills tongue#/ he used to get very upset with me//
/ɛn ai sed sə: nɔt R-R-R hi yus tu gɛt vɛRi əpsɛt wɪθ mi/
D : I guess he would be//

Episode 6

C : and then this girl next to me, she could read but, I don't know if she was deaf or what/
/ɛn ðɛn ðɪs ge:l neks tu mi ši kʊ:d Rid bət ai dɔnæu if ši wəz def ɔ: wɔt/
and I was xxxxx #child's scream# I will never forget that woman that nun's face/ she,
/ɛn ai wəz ai wəl nevə: fɔ:get ðɛt wʊmən ðɛt nənz fe:s/
sister bertram, she maybe she died by now, she was so old already/
/sɪstə: bə:tRəm ši mebi ši daid bai nəᵘ ši wəz səᵘ ɔld ɔlRedi/
and .. we used to go for reading, to her class/ and this girl next to me,
/ɛn wi yus tu gɔ fɔ: Ridɪŋ tu hə: kla:s ɛn ðɪs ge:l neks tu mi/
whose name was reginia
/huz næim wəz Rəji:nyə/
D : regina
C : or something like that/ and its her turn to read/ and I xxxx push, and she reads,
/ɔ: səmθɪŋ laik ðɛt /ɛn əts hə: tə:n tə Rid ɛn ai puš ɛn ši Ridz /
[[reading] look at that baby lamb hop/ it is spring/he is happy/ look at..] then she stops//
/lʊk ɛt ðɛt be:bi lɛm hɔp ət ɪz spRɪŋ hi ɪz hɛpi lʊk ɛt.. ðɛn ši stɔps/
D : right//
C : now me, that is following the book, and she is stopping and I know the word,
/næu mi ðɛt ɪz falawɪŋ ðə bʊk ɛn ši ɪz stɔpɪŋ ɛn ai nəᵘ ðə wɔ:d/
it is so irritating it .. =I had=
/ɪt ɪz səᵘ iRɪtetɪŋ ɪt ai hɛd/
D : =you want= to say it/
C : I had, and we're not allowed to = =
/ai hɛd ɛn wi: nɔt əlæud tu/
D : = = to say anything/
C : so I tell her [[dc] [p] its mister bear]/ now she doesn't hear me/ you

know,
/səᵘ ai tɛlə: its mɪstə: be: næu ši dəzənt hi: ə mi yu nəᵘ/
and I say it louder, ⌈[f] mister bear⌉/ and I'm getting now, .. very angry because she doesn't xx
/ɛn ai se: ət laudə: mɪstə: be: ɛn aim gɛtɪŋ næu vɛri ɛŋri bɪkəz ši dəzənt/
and you know, and sister bertram come over and says, C#first name# just give me your hand/
/ɛn yu nəᵘ ɛn sɪstə bə:tRəm kəm ɔ:və: ɛn sez # # jis giv mi yɔ: hɛᴵn/
that time we used to get hiding with a cane/ and I'm watching it cane,
/ðɛt taim wi yustu gɛt haidɪŋ wɪθ kəᴵn ɛn aim wačɪŋ ɪt kəᴵn/
and I think I'm not gonna get this hiding/ I pulled away and the cane broke xx xx = =
/ɛn ai θɪŋk aim nɔt gənə gɛt ðɪs haidɪŋ ai pu:ld əwe: ɛn ðə kəᴵn bRok /

D : = = because she hit the desk/

C : yes, and the cane broke, and she hit me with the ruler//
/yɛs ɛn ðə kəᴵn bRok ɛn ši hit mi wɪθ ðə Rulə//

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